

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 181877 TOSEC 190058

EXDIS

FOL RPT USUN 2986 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ANKARA ATHENS NICOSIA
LONDON JUL 22

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 2986

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT TO SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS: WALDHEIM/BENNETT CONVERSATION

1. SUMMARY: SYG WALDHEIM TOLD AMB. BENNETT JULY 21 THAT HE
DOES NOT CONSIDER ANOTHER VIENNA ROUND FEASIBLE BEFORE COLOMBO
SUMMIT AND IN FACT SEES DANGERS IN IT. IN REVIEW OF RECENT
DEVELOPMENTS HE SAID SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE PEREX DE CUELLAR'S
REPORTING AFTER MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS BITSIOS
AND CALLAYANGIL AND ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS WAS DISCOURAGING.
WALDHEIM SAID MAP PROPOSAL HAD BEEN REJECTED BY TURKS, AND GREEKS
WANTED PRIOR AGREEMENT ON BASIC PRINCIPLES BEFORE TERRITORIAL
QUESTIONS COULD BE TAKEN UP BY A SUBCOMMITTEE. TURKS CLAIMED
FRAGILITY OF DEMIREL GOVERNMENT PRECLUDED GIVING SUCH PRIOR
AGREEMENT AND SUGGESTED PRELIMINARY TALKS WITH PAPADOPOULOS
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AND ONAN BE HELD IN NICOSIA UNDER AUSPICES OF PEREZ

DE CUELLAR. WALDHEIM SAID SUCH PRELIMINARY TALKS WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE SUBSTITUTE FOR NEXT VIENNA ROUND, WHICH COULD TAKE PLACE, IF PROGRESS IS MADE DURING PRELIMINARY TALKS, AFTER NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN COLOMBO. WALDHEIM ADDED THAT DE CUELLAR IS PURSUING THIS PROPOSAL AND SAID HE WOULD APPRECIATE HAVING U.S. REACTION TO PROPOSED PRELIMINARY TALKS. END SUMMARY.

2. SYG WALDHEIM ASKED BENNETT TO MEET WITH HIM ON JULY 21 TO REVIEW LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ON CYPRUS, INCLUDING REPORTS FROM SYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE PEREX DE CUELLAR. WALDHEIM SAID LATEST REPORTS WERE NOT ENCOURAGING. HE CONTINUED THAT FOR THE TIME BEING IT DOES NOT APPEAR A SIXTH VIENNA ROUND CAN BE HELD. WALDHEIM SAID TURKS WERE NOT RECEPTIVE TO PROPOSAL THAT MAPS BE PRODUCED AT NEXT VIENNA TALKS. BENNETT INDICATED AN UNDERSTANDING THAT GREEK GOVERNMENT WOULD AGREE TO PRODUCE A MAP IF TURKS DID ALSO, BUT APPARENTLY TURKS ARE NOW BACKING AWAY FROM MAP SUGGESTION. WALDHEIM NOTED THAT FM CAGLAYANGIL TOLD DE CUELLAR THAT PM DEMIREL IS NOT PREPARED TO RISK A GOT CRISIS NOW OVER CYPRUS. CAGLAYANGIL IS ALSO REPORTED TO HAVE TOLD DE CUELLAR THAT DEMIREL CABINET WOULD HAVE TO APPROVE TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS WHICH WOULD REQUIRE HIGHEST LEVEL OF SECRECY; THIS COULD NOT BE GUARANTEED AT VIENNA TALKS UNDER AUSPICES OF SYG. WALDHEIM INTERJECTED PERSONAL COMMENT THAT IN HIS VIEW SECRECY CAN BE BETTER MAINTAINED AT VIENNA LEVEL THAN IN SUBCOMMITTEES. DE CUELLAR ALSO REPORTED FM CAGLAYANDIL AS WONDERING WHETHER PRELIMINARY MEETING BETWEEN INTERLOCUTORS PAPADOPOULOS AND ONAN UNDER AUSPICES OF DE CUELLAR COULD NOT SERVE AS USEFUL PREPARATORY STAGE LEADING TO ANOTHER VIENNA ROUND. DE CUELLAR QUOTED TURKISH OFFICIALS AS SAYING DENKTASH IS MORE DIFFICULT TO CONTROL AND IS MORE INDEPENDENT SINCE THE RECENT TURKISH/CYPRIOT ELECTIONS.

3. WALDHEIM THEN TURNED TO DE CUELLAR'S REPORTING FROM HIS ATHENS MEETINGS. WALDHEIM, GLANCING THROUGH MESSAGES FROM DE CUELLAR, SAID THE LATTER CAME AWAY WITH IMPRESSION THAT GREEKS HAVE DISTANCED THEMSELVES A BIT AND TAKEN NEW ATTITUDE THAT CYPRUS PROBLEM IS ONE TO BE RESOLVED BY CYPRIOTS. DE CUELLAR WROTE THAT BITSIOS WAS IN SKEPTICAL CONFIDENTIAL

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MOOD AND HAD COMMENTED THAT TURKS HAD RENEGED ON EARLIER COMMITMENTS TO NEGOTIATE TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS. DE CUELLAR REPORTED BITSIOS AS ADAMANT THAT BASIC AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES ON TERRITORIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES WOULD HAVE TO BE ACHIEVED BEFORE SUBCOMMITTEES COULD BE ESTABLISHED. GREEK SIDE, ACCORDING TO DE CUELLAR, CLAIMS THAT TURKS WANT TO NEGOTIATE ONLY THE SO-CALLED "NO MAN'S LAND," WHICH AT MOST IS ONLY 2 OR 3 PER CENT OF THE TERRITORY LOST TO THE TURKS

DURING THE SUMMER OF 1974. DE CUELLAR STRESSED THAT THE GREEKS ARE UNWILLING TO DEPART FROM ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS' POSITION THAT AGREEMENT ON PRINCIPLES BE REACHED BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEES ARE FORMED. WALDHEIM POINTED OUT AGAIN THAT BITSIOS NOW CLAIMS THAT CYPRUS GOVERNMENT DETERMINES ITS OWN POLICY; WALDHEIM VIEWED THIS AS MAJOR SHIFT ON PART OF GREEK GOVERNMENT.

4. SYG THEN PICKED UP DE CUELLAR'S REPORTING FROM LATTER'S MEETING JULY 20 WITH ARCHBISHOP. DE CUELLAR REPORTED THAT MAKARIOS VIEWED ANOTHER VIENNA ROUND AT THIS TIME AS COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. HOWEVER, MAKARIOS WHEN INFORMED OF PROPOSED PRELIMINARY TALKS, TOLD DE CUELLAR THAT HE WOULD NOT BE ADVERSE TO SUCH. MAKARIOS REPORTEDLY MADE IT CLEAR THAT PRELIMINARY TALKS WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE ACCEPTABLE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR NEXT VIENNA MEETING. ACCORDING TO DE CUELLAR, MAKARIOS IS CONVINCED TURKS CANNOT NEGOTIATE NOW IN VIEW THEIR WEAK GOVERNMENT, AND TURKISH POSITION IN FAVOR INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS IS MERELY TO GAIN TIME AND TO DIMINISH THE STANDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

5. WALDHEIM SAID HE VIEWS RESUMPTION OF TALKS UNDER DE CUELLAR'S AUSPICES AS PRELIMINARY TO ANOTHER VIENNA ROUND AS A GOOD IDEA. WALDHEIM COMMENTED THAT CHANCES OF FAILURE APPEARED TO BE GREATER THAN THOSE OF SUCCESS AT ANOTHER VIENNA ROUND AT THIS TIME; A FAILURE COULD BE EXPLOITED BY MAKARIOS AT COLOMBO. MAKARIOS COULD SEIZE UPON STRANDED VIENNA TALKS AT COLOMBO AND CALL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OR MAKE OTHER PROPOSALS THERE WHICH WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE OR FEASIBLE BUT WOULD CAUSE US ALL GREAT TROUBLE.

6. AMB. BENNETT STRESSED THAT IN U.S. VIEWPOINT IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT THE EFFORTS LEADING TOWARD A CONFIDENTIAL

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NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT CONTINUE. THE MOMENTUM MUST BE PRESERVED. WALDHEIM AGREED BUT SAID AFTER VIENNA FIVE HE MUST BE EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS. HE RECALLED THE DILEMMA OF VIENNA FIVE WHERE ALL THE PARTIES SAT FOR TWO DAYS WITH NO PROPOSALS BEING TABLED. WALDHEIM SAID THE GREEK SIDE HAS EVEN ACCUSED HIM OF STALLING TO GIVE A TACTICAL GAIN IN TIME TO THE TURKS. FURTHER HE SAID HE DOES NOT FORGET PAPADOPOULOS' THREAT OF NOT TOLERATING ANOTHER "IMPRESSION OF SUCCESS" AT THE NEXT VIENNA ROUND. WALDHEIM SAID THAT PAPADOPOULOS ASSERTED THAT IF THERE IS ANOTHER UNPRODUCTIVE VIENNA ROUND THEN THE GREEK SIDE WOULD WALK OUT.

7. CONVERSATION CONCLUDED WITH WALDHEIM REPEATING THAT THE PRELIMINARY TALKS UNDER DE CUELLAR SEEMED FEASIBLE AND THAT DE CUELLAR WOULD BE PURSUING THIS PROPOSAL SOON. THEY

WOULD BE PRESENTED AS STEPS TOWARD ANOTHER VIENNA ROUND
(POSSIBLY TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK), WALDHEIM ADDED THAT HE
WOULD APPRECIATE THE REACTION OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT TO THE
PRELIMINARY TALKS SUGGESTION. HE ASKED THAT SECRETARY
KISSINGER BE ASSURED THAT THE SYG REMAINS FIRMLY COMMITTED
TO CONTINUING WITH HIS EFFORTS TO REACH TANGIBLE RESULTS
THROUGH THE VIENNA TALKS UNDER HIS AUSPICES. BENNETT EXPRESSED
APPRECIATION FOR THE SYG'S EFFORTS TO DATE AND EMPHASIZED
ONCE AGAIN IMPORTANCE USG ATTACHES TO KEEPING THINGS
MOVING. HE ADDED THAT WE WOULD BE IN TOUCH WHEN WE
HAVE AN OFFICIAL REACTION TO WALDHEIM PROPOSAL.
BENNETT

UNQUOTE ROBINSON

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